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IDENTIFICATION, A MAJOR PROBLEM OF MODERN MISSIONS

Eugene A. Nida

Two Nuer school teachers in the Sudan had told the resident missionary that they planned to make a trip to some of the more distant villages in order to evangelize. Before leaving they went past the missionary's home to let him know they were leaving. However, they arrived without a stich of clothing, only some beads around their necks. The missionary was a little surprised that these school teachers had not dressed up in their white shirts and shorts--the mark of distinction and prestige among the few educated Nuers. But the men explained quite frankly that they did not wish to go out to villages and appear to be different from the rest of the men, all of whom go completely naked. They had concluded that in order better to reach their own people they should identify themselves more completely with them, rather than appearing to put on airs, which the wearing of clothing would have implied.

This incident is in a sense an extreme example, but it illustrates perfectly the essential problem of identification, something of which many missionaries are becoming more and more keenly aware, but which some still feel reluctant to face up to. Without a doubt the two great problems of modern missions are identification and communication. Neither can be resolved without the other, and in fact neither can be understood except in terms of the other.

What Is Identification?

Some missionaries in Africa have concluded that identification meant living in African huts, eating African food, and wearing (at least to some extent) African clothing. And yet, some of these very missionaries have remained ideological light-years away from the people whom they have tried so hard to reach. There is no doubt but that the gulf of different food, housing, clothing, and possessions tends to isolate missionaries from the people around them, for more often than not, the missionary is the local equivalent of a millionaire (regardless of how much he may sacrifice--in terms of U. S. standards). In many areas

he is consistently classed with government officials and directors of large business enterprises. What makes the missionary's position even more difficult is that the indigenous people cannot understand exactly why he should have so much without apparently engaging in any commercial enterprise. Accordingly they conclude that he must be there for quite ulterior motives.

If a missionary does live in a hut but does not master the language of the people, he is still isolated from the people. This does not mean, of course, that living in a hut within a village is not a good idea for acquiring proficiency in a language--in fact it is about the only way to do so. However, physical juxtaposition is not the complete answer. If, as some missionaries do, he goes out and eats with the people but never invites any of them to eat with him in his own home, the association appears purely paternalistic, and tends to breed resistence. Wearing foreign clothing but always judging situations, e.g. polygamy, from a foreign standpoint repels people, for under such circumstances they often regard the overt forms of identification as false and hypocritical.

Real identification does not consist primarily in outward forms, but in inward content. What counts more than anything else is the psychological identification. Identification is not being able to dress like people, but being able to think as they do. That is precisely why many missionaries, despite lack of conformity in outward modes of culture, nevertheless have been so successful. Furthermore, psychological identification is fundamentally harder than physical identification, for it strikes closer at the comfort of our egocentric and ethnocentric ways.

Sympathy or Empathy

The greatest obstacle to identification is not food, housing, or clothing (though these are real obstacles), but paternalistic sympathy. It is so easy for us to ooze with sympathy--the sticky, nauseating kind. It is very popular with some indigenous people, for they soon figure out that

such a person is likely to be a "soft touch." Such a missionary will continue to be acclaimed by the people as long as money or benefits are forthcoming, but the underlying resentment against this type of person is more deep-seated and potentially violent than against any other. Paternalistic sympathy is simply a nasty way to be superior.

A person with any character whatsoever is basically opposed to being treated with condescension. He does not want someone to sympathize with him, but to understand him, to be able to see problems as he views them, to enter into his situation and work with him, not just do things for him.

Polygamy

No missionary in Negro Africa can be said to have empathy with the people unless he is able to see polygamy in the light of its cultural setting. That does not mean that he will favor polygamy, but he at least will be able to weigh the problem, and in his recommendations to the African church everyone will know that he appreciates fully that there is no simple answer. As all thoughtful missionaries in Africa know, the situation with regard to polygamy is very anomalous. Polygamous wives can often be baptized and have church membership, but the husbands cannot. The husband is sometimes forced to turn out all but one wife—some of whom can only exist by going into prostitution. He may be told to keep the other wives, but to refuse to live with them as wives--with the result that they suffer cruel loss of social standing and their children often share in this type of social ostracism. Some missionaries, however, regard it as quite arbitrary to tell people that they can be saved and go to heaven, but cannot become members of the church, from which some Africans might well infer that the missionaries regard the church a more sacrosanct institution than heaven. However, in a number of instances polygamous persons have proven to be very fine Christians. In one area of the Sudan a school teacher was dismissed from a mission for taking on a second wife. He left and went to another village, where he immediately proceeded to organize a group of believers, and since that time has been the spiritual leader of the congregation.

A close examination of the problem of polygamy cannot help but impress us with the analogy to problems faced by the Judaizers in the early church (though of course the analogy is not exact). They insisted that the Gentiles could become Christians, but that they had to be circumcized, for they regarded circumcision as obligatory for the working of Holy Spirit. When, however, the Holy Spirit descended upon uncircumcized people they were completely confused. Similarly, some missionaries have unknowingly assumed that God would only deal with monogamist, but the Holy Spirit is forever leaping over the bounds imposed by the church. This does not mean that I advocate polygamy (and no responsible church leader that I know of in Africa does), but it does mean that this issue must be considered in the light of the African context. Furthermore, polygamy will be eliminated in Africa, not primarily as the result of missionary teaching, but because of the change in the economic patterns, which are already vastly diminishing polygamy, even among non-Christians. The solution to polygamy will not be attained by denouncing the present state of affairs, but by working with the African Christian leaders themselves to help build a new concept of Christian home-life. This will take many years, and among other things will necessitate a much greater attention to the education of girls. Unless the partners in marriage have somewhat comparable backgrounds so that they can more fully complement each other, one cannot expect to produce a monogamist society in Africa.

Nationalism

Nationalistic movements are inevitable developments in our world in which previous suppressed peoples are coming into their own. It is quite understandable that before the independence of India a high percentage of missionaries sympathized openly with the British rule, for they felt that the end of such a rule would be disastrous to missions, and no doubt they were somewhat justified in such a viewpoint. However, the fact that Christian missions did become associated in the minds of the people with colonialism and foreign imperialism has been a very important factor in

the present opposition of the Indian government to the great influx of missionaries--some of whom have been particularly ill-equipped to do a constructive piece of work.

In most parts of the world nationalism becomes closely identified with the resurgence of indigenous beliefs, e.g. Mohammedanism in the Sudan, Buddhism in Burma, and Hinduism in India. Threatened with such a socio-religious problem, the average missionary finds it hard to enter fully into the people's overwhelming enthusiasm for that sense of self-recognition and "place in the sun" without which few groups of people ever accomplish very much.

For the anthropologist it is very interesting to note the extent to which international communism, with heavy sponsorship from Soviet Russia, has been able to identify its program almost without exception with the nationalist aspirations of the people. In earlier days American democracy was able to do much the same thing, but a status quo social, economic, and political philosophy (much of which has been unconsciously imbibed by many American missionaries, simply because they, like all people, are a part of their own culture) has created still another hurdle for the missionary who wishes to do a creative piece of work in a rapidly changing world.

The ABC's of Identification

There is no magic formula for acquiring an adequate identification with the people (we can never hope to be fully identified because of our own cultural heritage), but the following suggestions may point the way:

1. Learn to judge and evaluate culture traits in the context in which they have relevance. (A thorough study of cultural anthropology is one of the best preparations for this.)
2. Acquire such a mastery of the indigenous language that it is possible to communicate in the relaxed give-and-take of friendly association.

3. In so far as is compatible with minimum health standards, adopt indigenous forms of dress, shelter, and food.
4. Discover those ways in which the Gospel of Jesus Christ may enter into and sanctify indigenous patterns of life, thus providing a new content around which new forms will develop.

Identification is not only theoretically possible; it has been attained by numerous missionaries. One man, Dr. R. Trudinger, M. D., of the Sudan, identified himself with the Dinkas, a proud, stand-offish people, whose manner of life and system of values are far removed from that of Western civilization. Nevertheless, Dr. Trudinger was able, through years of constant association, including long periods of living in the cattle kraals of isolated villages, to bridge that culture gap which hangs like an iron curtain between ourselves and those of other ways of life.

Another missionary, Rev. E. V. Persson, so effectively identified himself with the Africans of the Union of South Africa that at a banquet held in his honor one speaker declared: "Rev. Persson may have a white skin, but his heart is as black as any of us."

We cannot efface the effects of our own culture--and we should not try--but we must endeavor to become members of two worlds so that we may win the world to Jesus Christ. This is the true meaning of Paul's principle of "being all things to all men" that he might "win some."

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BRIEF NOTES ON THE MISSION ACTIVITY AT CUCHIBAMBA, ECUADOR, A SIERRA QUECHUA COMMUNITY

William and Marie Reyburn

II

(Continued from Vol. 2, No. 3)

B. Religious Culture

Cuchibamba religion, as in the case of most Quechua groups, represents an amalgamation of aboriginal and Catholic religious concepts. This mixture is far from being well blended, and sharp contradictions exist within the minds of the Quechuas. This section will point out some of the salient features of this religious mixture, the role of the Catholic church in Quechua life, spiritual concepts exhibited in ideas about man and nature, the function and role of the fiestas in Quechua religious and political life, and attitudes concerning death and burial.

Precontact religion in the Inca empire contained various deities. Many of these were incorporated into the pantheon of the Incas in the process of military expansion. However, the central deity was the sun. Today the sun is considered on a par with the virgin and called inti mama, sun mother. The moon and stars are also present day deities to Cuchibamba inhabitants. However, some say that stars are the eyes of children who are in heaven. The origin of the world is on this wise. God once judged the world, and only one man remained locked in a box. In this box there was a seed of each plant. The box floated on the water. One day God opened the box and set man on the dry land. This man found no other human on land. He set about building a house and planting the seeds from the box. The day following he harvested a crop. When he returned to his house he found a meal prepared. The next day he spied through the house to see who it was that had prepared the food. He saw a dove enter the house and he prevented the dove from escaping. Suddenly the dove was transformed into a woman. This man and woman then became the progenitors of all living men and women. Graves found in this area are believed to be the remains of the people who were killed in

the juicio puncha, day of judgment. This day of judgment is described as the ground boiling like water and the houses tumbling in. (This picture represents interesting implications of historically known volcano eruptions and lava flows.) The present world is conceived as being small and flat and resting in water. Heaven is the arc above the flat earth. Heaven is above and guarded by an iron gate and several angels, San Pedro and a group of saints. The doorway to heaven has a huge chain and lock. Only angels can admit one. God, Christ and Virgin are in heaven. God's duties are regulating the affairs of this earth, while Christ's have to do with the running of the affairs in heaven. The functions of the Virgin are not known.

At death and following the burial the soul of a human goes to the crater of Cotopaxi. There the soul faces the devil, Cesar by name, and according to the deeds done while living the soul is judged by Cesar. Souls remaining in Cotopaxi are cooked in large vats. Ones which have been more or less good are sent on to heaven. In heaven there is some mild punishment. There are three groups of souls which cannot pass from Cotopaxi to heaven: 1. the worst sinners, 2. the brujos, and 3. the evangelicals. The latter do not go to heaven because they have not been baptized, not had the first communion, do not pray the rosary, don't believe in the Virgin and saints and do not attend mass. No reasons are given why brujos are not acceptable in heaven. Babies all go to heaven. In heaven God slaps their mouths for having bit their mothers' breasts. A man is struck by God for each hair he has pulled from his wife's head in a fight. The soul of man is depicted by some as entirely black and like a skeleton with sunken eyes.

The Quechua spirit world is the source of some consternation to the people. There are, for the most part, bad spirits and neutral spirits. Spirits are devils, live in the quebradas, and are invisible except at night. These diablos appear at night in the form of cats, dogs, burros, horses. They are omens of death. They do not attempt to hurt anyone, but one should avoid seeing them. This may account for their staying indoors at night unless the moon

is full. One of the main diablos is a figure like a man with a big hat, mounted on a horse. The horse glides along above the ground shooting flames from its nostrils. There are spirits that come from the Calderón graveyard at night. These often travel about in a bus. One will see the red light of the bus and spirit passengers riding inside. These buses are wandering about lost in the dark but will disappear with the coming of daylight. Trees and other inanimate objects in nature are possessed of spirits in monkey-like shape which can be seen jumping about from place to place. The abode of many strange spirits are vacant haciendas. A vacant hacienda is an awe inspiring place to the Quechuas. Most any building left vacant is soon occupied by various spirits.

As was pointed out in the preceding section, the Catholic church is the originator and controller of the socially sanctioned acts of baptism, confirmation and marriage. All of these have been imposed upon the modern Quechua by the church but very likely have served as a substitute for some aboriginal practices not acceptable to the church. These acts are felt by the people as essential to life in the maintenance of a community oneness. Not to abide by these acts brings down severe castigation in the form of verbal condemnation from the members of the community. A further imposition which again represents a type of cultural blending is the fiesta system, which stems directly from the church. The main fiesta dates are Jan. 6, Santa Reyes; April, Pascuas; July, San Juan and San Pedro; Sept. 8, Natividad; Nov. 2, Dia de los Muertos; Dec. 25 pista kaza. There are in addition to these several secondary fiestas. The fiesta, which no doubt has some roots in prehispanic Quechua culture, is the expression of most social activities. So deeply ingrained is the fiesta system that it is difficult for the inhabitants to conceive of a gathering of a large group without a fiesta. The fiesta may be said to constitute the social vehicle upon which rides the news of the community, the opportunity to see and be seen, a cohesive force in the community, the sense of belonging to a group that has a conscience of its own, the chance for young people to learn the basic ways of life, and most of all the giver par excellence of respect and

prestige. Here individuals mentioned in the previous account of social organization carry the name of some Catholic saint. Every name of a saint has a special day. Hence people celebrate the day of their patron saint rather than their own birthday. This accounts for the fact that so few people can tell how old they are.

The rationale of the fiestas stems from the Catholic church. A hierarchy of fiesta officials are named to bear the expense of the fiesta. The local priest names the head men, the priostes; the priostes in turn name the dansantes, corporales, sargentos, and capitanes. A man is subject to "pasar fiesta" after he is married. A prioste appoints those whom he wants to name as the lower fiesta officials. In case there is some discussion the matter is referred to the local priest who may bring pressure to bear on the reluctant appointee. The lowest rung of the fiesta prestige ladder, dansante, may be held for one or two fiestas in the year. Then the prioste must select others. A dansante will spend approximately 5000 sucres as his obligation in a single fiesta. The higher officers spend more. With four main fiestas a year we estimate that a total of 136,000 sucres a year (a conservative figure) are spent on the principal fiestas alone. If there are 1000 people in this area this means $8.16 per capita per annum is spent on fiestas. The financial drain is so severe that it would be considered criminal to ask a man to participate in a fiesta without allowing him a space of 3-4 years to recover. Recovery often is never completed before one is obliged to assume the role again. From this lavish spending the church benefits in money from the paid masses of the priostes, which amounts to 600-800 sucres per fiesta. However, all fiestas originate at the church with mass and the church's blessing, a tie which the church will not want to see undone.

It is common for a man not to accept a fiesta obligation, but the people talk and eventually pressure will be strong enough to cause the dissenter to relent. While age gradation is of supreme importance in the social structure and respect values of the community, the fiestas provide a

clear cut prestige system. A man is considered respectable when he has climbed to the prioste rung of the fiesta ladder and then retires to be an alcalde. Some men have served as prioste more than once. Priostes and ex-priostes are then the most respected men in the community. Each year a set of four alcaldes are appointed from the eligible ex-priostes. The duties of these officials are to visit the houses of the community requesting parents to send their children to mass; promote sanitation; break up irregular unions; force the religious marriage for those who have not yet done this and have waited longer than an acceptable period of time; take to the priest for marriage any unmarried couples found in sexual contact. Rounds of the community are made each 15 days. Since it is considered proper to fete the alcaldes with chicha when they come to a house, they are usually too drunk to complete more than half of their rounds.

A further aspect of the fiesta to be considered here is the associated drinking. Corn fermented drink is probably exceedingly old in the Americas. Here chicha is associated with social affairs like cakes are to North American birthdays. We do not believe we know the exact cause or motivation for such extreme intoxication as is found in the Quechua world, but there are organic and cultural factors that seem to be relevant. Among the former the following should be considered. Corn is the basic staple in the diet here. The drinking of chicha, a corn product, is considered by some as having nutritional value. Water for relief of thirst is restricted due to the extreme difficulties of supply. This may indicate a degree of dehydration in the body. Hence the opportunity at fiestas to satiate oneself with a liquid may account for what appears to be an alcoholic drive. (When cokes were served at the Aug. 29 fiesta at the house 17 Indians including adults and young children consumed approximately 85 cokes. By actual count one man and his wife drank 12 bottles.) There are places, however, such as..... where the water supply is sufficient and corn is not part of the staple diet (cebada being the main staple), and in this area intoxication is more severe than in Cuchibamba. It also may be indicated that the

change of starch to sugar and the small quantity of alcohol in chicha satisfies a desire for elements lacking in the diet. There is little doubt that an improvement in economic conditions and especially an improvement in diet will not bring forth a change in the quantities of chicha drunk. Among the cultural factors we may list several factors. A slight feeling of intoxication "makes a man feel brave and capable of facing all his problems." While the fiesta brings glory and prestige to a small group of fiesta officials, the rest can bask in this glory by removing a bit of rational thinking and inhibitions via the chicha pilchi. In this way everyone, poor and prioste, has the feeling of enriching his status in the community. There are sayings and traditions built around chicha drinking which tend to make it compulsory to drink more than one pilchi. Chicha is given to infants as a medicinal remedy, and no doubt a taste for it is acquired early in life. The chicha cup is a sign of confidence and friendship. It is offered to the weary traveler and to the passing neighbor as the most polite gesture known. An exchange of chicha tends to expel the fears and suspicions of strangers and cements the friendship of new acquaintances. Chicha is the official toast to the communities' alcaldes, and the failure to serve it on certain occasions is considered a breach of etiquette. These cultural considerations for the excessive consumptions of chicha may be added ad infinitum. However, suffice it to say that intoxication cannot properly be understood and eventually dealt with without a consideration of its organic and cultural implications.

In this section there remains to be discussed briefly two additional aspects of Quechua religion: witchcraft and death. Brujos are men who by special training in the Oriente or in Santo Domingo de los Colorados are capable of divination, performing black and white magic, and curations. We will omit the details of their operations and say that the acts of these men represent a mixture of aboriginal and Catholic concepts. Sicknesses are of two types, sickness of a natural cause and infirmities due to the acts of brujeria. Diagnosis is made by a brujo to determine which causation he must confront. Nature, incidentally, is more

susceptible to his manuevers than is the work of another brujo. Cures are accomplished by sucking and invocation. The sickness is passed from the sick person into a rag doll which is then thrown with various other curation paraphernalia into an inaccessible place such as a quebrada. Brujos invoke the names of several volcanos and the names of Christ, the virgin, and saints. The reliance in witchcraft for cures may be attested to by walking through some of the Cuchibamba quebradas.

Death is a severe preoccupation in Cuchibamba. When death is imminent in a kin group it is made known via dreams called falsos suienos. Certain patterns of dreams indicate that some relative will die, but it is not indicated in the dream who this person will be. When a person is dying the priest will be called to hear the last confession only if the family has sufficient money. A dying person will ask for water because it is said that his soul retraces all the footsteps of the dying one taken during his life time and returns to the body hot and exhausted. After death a wooden casket is secured and a resting shelter constructed inside the house. The cadaver is bathed by living relatives of its own sex, dressed in its best clothes and laid in the house for a day and a night. The night following the death the close relatives of the dead one gather at the house to play games to divert the sorrowing immediate family. All night long such games as conejo, zapallo, cebolla, molino, tabla caballo, pescado, gato y raton are played. It is considered an offense to fall asleep at these wakes. A sleeper may have his face smeared with charcoal, his hair cut or paper put in his mouth and set fire. At dawn the games cease and the players return to their homes. Very significant is the fact that the Quechua have adopted from the whites many ideas concerning dignity of burial. The Quechua wants his body placed in a box of some ornamented design, buried in a cemetery which has a wall and a decorated gateway, and a cross over the grave. This is in strong contrast to the pit burials of prehispanic days. This is almost a rare instance of white penetration into the world of Quechua aesthetics. It probably represents to the Quechua historically

a replacement for some of the ritual which has been taken over by the church and lost in the aboriginal culture. To be buried in any other manner is to be buried "like a dog." Burial prices vary greatly from place to place. Here they range from 50 to 200 sucres. Additional charges are made by the priest for each response said enroute to the grave. It is still common for food and money to be placed in the grave with the body. There is some expression of emotion at the grave in the form of tears and crying out how good the dead one was in life. This behavior is restricted usually to the immediate family. Following burial it is customary to go to a local cantina and drink away the sorrow.

When the family returns from the cemetery and the cantina, washables are removed from the house and all members of the household go to the quebrada to wash and bathe. During the washing and bathing in the quebrada the soul returns to the house. Finding the house closed and locked the soul then continues on to its spirit world, Cotopaxi. Here it will await its final disposition by the devil, César.

These brief notes serve to point up some of the types of relationships that obtain between the Church and Quechua concepts of witchcraft and animism. The union of these two elements may be summed up as follows: 1. The Catholic church has succeeded in imposing the rites of infant baptism, confirmation, matrimony and funeral. These enjoy full sanction by the community and are felt as essential to a well ordered way of life. It is to be suspected that the process has been one of partial substitution for earlier aboriginal practices. The social sanctions which enforced the aboriginal practices today bolster the Catholic ritual. 2. The acquisition of Catholic theology is absolutely nil. The Catholic pantheon of God, Christ, the Virgin and saints has merely been added to the nature pantheon of the Quechua. This amalgamation is not embodied in a theology. The Catholic deities appear to enjoy equal prestige with the sun, moon and stars today. Socio-religious ritual constitutes the basis of Quechua religion. Saint personalities

are in a competing position with God and Christ. San Jose is said by some to be the father of God. 3. Nature is viewed as being possessed of many spiritual entities which appear to be unrelated to the "spiritual" phase of religion, which is almost lacking. 4. The Church-generating fiesta system as well as lesser fiestas are socio-politico-religious in essence, the religious factor being the least dominant. These form a solid core of ethnic consciousness and authority are further byproducts of the fiesta. Religion as felt in the fiesta is associated closely with intoxication. 5. Witchcraft and magic represent a secondary manifestation of the blending of the two systems. 6. Death and burial show further the result of the contact between aboriginal concepts and Catholic ritual. A more intensive investigation of Quechua religion will doubtless develop the hypothesis of the writer that the feel for religion and the relation of the individual to the divine is almost exclusively built around Quechua thinking and concepts of some histcrical depth, while the Catholic socio-religious phase is an addition or substitution for former socio-religious ritual.

C. Material Culture

This section will point out a few of the material aspects of the area which may be related to mission endeavor. Land is the primary basis of economy in the community. While most of Guano inhabitants are partidarios the majority in Cuchibamba own their own property. Amounts owned vary from a quarter of a cuadra to approximately 9 cuadras. The average holding is estimated to be approximately one-half to three-quarters cuadra. There is a feeling in Cuchibamba of over-population and a desire by some to move in the direction of Guano and the highway where land is more ample. Fragmentation of land and population increase have driven the males from the community to seek employment in Quito and elsewhere. There is a desire on the part of many men to earn money to buy more land. In spite of the desire for land, security is thought of in terms of permanent employment such as in the municipio as street

sweepers, garbage disposers, etc. The average off-community income is estimated to be S/.175 a month. Take-home pay is probably about S/.100 a month.

Agricultural pursuits belong almost exclusively to women and children. Child raising and socialization is carried on by the women, but the absentee husbands retain considerable control over their biological families.

Occupations which consume large portions of time in the community are fuel and water supply. Approximately 3-4 hours a day are spent by each family in carrying water. The scarcity of wood for fuel takes the women and daughters to considerable distances. In spite of the comparatively low cost of gasoline and reverberos these have not been accepted by the community. The cholo population of this area, on the other hand, uses them almost exclusively. In spite of the acceptance of buses for passenger transportation and the stick and wheel as a toy, Quechuas nowhere appear to have accepted the wheel as a means of transporting goods in the community. The terrain figures as a factor here.

Agricultural and animal husbandry form the basis of daily routine activities in the community. Soils are described as being of 4 types, arinoso, chocoto, tierra amarilla and tierra blanca. Land dissected by quebradas is least desirable. Depleted soils probably account for much of calcium and phosphorous deficiency evident in teeth and bone formation. The problem of fertilizers is indicated by the inhabitants as one of the most serious brawbacks to good crop production. Ordinarily in Quechua culture animal manure is used for fertilizer. However, the number of animals owned is necessarily restricted by the amount of pasture land available. Where the average holding is less than a cuadra, sufficient animals for adequate fertilizer is impossible. Human excreta is admitted by most to be good fertilizer but no systematic use of it is made. Incidentally, the large amounts of human excreta found in the pathways and roads is in part attributable to the fear of being seen crawling about in someone's plot. People prefer

not to be suspected of stealing, so defecation is preferred in the pathway which is "public property." Stealing is so common in the community that constant unrest is manifested by the inhabitants. Planting and harvesting of crops is regulated to some extent by Saints days and phases of the moon. Many theories are held concerning the utility of these practices. Castration of animals is also regulated by moon phases. Pasturing of animals is almost exclusively the work of children. Sheep are said to be the most desirable animals since their wool provides clothing and blankets. Wool is commonly sent to Otavalo by contract. There it is washed, cleaned, dried, carded, dyed, spun and woven. However, much spinning is done here in the community and the thread is sent to Otavalo to be dyed. Some of it is then returned and made into fajas by the men. This work is usually done when the men return home for a day off. Women who have wool available usually spin while walking to and from Quito and Calderon. Spindles and distaffs are seldom seen at fiestas. Goats are not highly valued here except as producers of fertilizer. Goat milk and the milk of black cows is said to be especially good for grippe and cough. Animals bearing names are dogs and oxen. Few other animals are ever given names.

The rhythm of the year's activities in the community can best be seen in a systematic schedule of agricultural activities and fiestas. It is likely that the thorough understanding of the interrelations of the two will throw more light on the system of fiestas and agricultural practices. Agricultural practices show clearly some of the sexual division of labor and perhaps certain agricultural taboos. Sowing of corn and alverja by men is tabooed, and it is taboo for a woman to plow with oxen. The outstanding agricultural activity is the corn harvest, which brings together the largest and most cooperative familial minga. Special foods are served at this time. This is a time for considerable exchange of news and opinions. Sample topics of conversation are: how the corn compares with that of other years; exchanges of gossip about neighbors and relatives; impending baptisms, confirmations, marriages, fiestas, funerals; recent fights and drunken brawls; recent

trips of husbands; health of children, etc. There is still persisting in the area the xaiciwa or the custom of giving the patron a poncho laden with fruits and other gifts at the dividing of the corn between land owner and partidario. In exchange for the fruits and gifts the patron is to provide a fiesta for the partidarios.

Crop rotation and allowing ground to lie fallow is not practiced. The latter is due to the lack of land. Three "meals" a day are taken by most families in this area; desayuno from 6 to 7 a.m. consists of cafecito or chocolate; almuerzo de dulce and sopa de arroz at 12:00 and merienda about 7 p.m. with sopa de arroz or cebada with dulce. Often tostados are eaten around 10 a.m. and 2 p.m. It is considered unhealthful to satiate oneself until the stomach hurts.

Local industries are extremely limited. These are restricted to cabuya fiber working, spinning and faja weaving. Considerable adornment is considered essential to the local criteria of beauty in females. These include necklaces, earrings and bracelets, thin fajas for women's hair braid and a bright ribbon for men's hair braid. Safety pins and Catholic medals are also considered adornments for women. Both men and women's cloth for clothing is purchased in Quito.

House construction usually consists of one room with a half partition separating the kitchen from the rest of the room. Two or three gable holes are placed as smoke exits, but people prefer not to have window space as "too much air gets in." Night air is considered to be bad to sleep in.

Serious sickness is a source of worry to the inhabitants, and almost every family has at least 2 or 3 infant mortalities. Local remedies are found in the application of herbs. Most everyone can identify and name in Quechua 85-100 plants and give the medicinal uses of each. Only as a last resort will a person seek medical attention. Most families feel themselves self-sufficient to handle the more common illnessess.

In sum, then, the material culture of Cuchibamba exhibits the following characteristics: 1. Exceedingly small land holdings hardly capable of sustaining the women and children who operate them. 2. Fragmentation of land must inevitably cause an increase in emigration to the city and to other areas. Social patterns and kinship ties still in force will be weakened by this trend of emigration. Fiestas and the close tie with the church also will be weakened as more people take up semipermanent residence in the city. It is questionable from present evidence whether permanent emigration to the city will produce mestizos who will exert considerable influence on their country cousins' way of living. 3. Local industries are extremely limited and provide practically no solution to the divided maintenance system now obtaining. 4. Considerations of water and fuel are so acute that their solution would have profound effects on the over-all pattern of the community. 5. In addition to breaking up small land holdings by inheritance the drastic problems of soil erosion and fertilization constitute a serious threat to the economic life and health of the community. 6. Animal husbandry is extremely restricted by the lack of adequate pasture lands. 7. Stealing will continue to harass the community as long as the subsistence level is kept at a bare minimum. 8. The divided maintenance of the family has had little effect on the sexual division of agricultural work, which has been shared in a large part by women since prehispanic times. 9. Agriculture continues to be the main entity in life in the community despite the division of maintenance. 10. Sickness is for the most part treated by the individual members of the family by medicinal herbs.

Much could be added in detail concerning settlement patterns, finance and marketing, living standards, daily routines, labor, travel and transportation, all of which must be considered. However, the writers believe that with this brief outline and the additional areas of study suggested we may move on to a consideration of the relation of the mission program to the foregoing ethnographic notes.

(Concluded in September-October issue)

REVIEW

The Toba Indians of the Argentine Chaco: An Interpretive Report. William D. Reyburn. Elkhart, Indiana: Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, 1954. 84 pp.

The Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities is to be commended for publishing this exceedingly significant report on the application of the culturological approach to missions problems. There is nothing ordinary about this study. The uniqueness of its approach will surprise both the sceptical, secular anthropologist who regards missionaries as misled meddlers and the most fervent, theologically conservative supporter of Christian missions. If the frequently expressed desire for more effective and more rapid execution of the Great Commission is to be accomplished the kind of approach employed by Dr. Reyburn in this study should be given serious consideration. My own personal opinion is that this booklet should be read by all who want to see missionary endeavor become more effective.

The report is both descriptive and interpretive. The first five chapters amount to a brief ethnography of Toba culture. The last three utilize this descriptive material in a discussion of the specific problems faced by the Mennonite missionaries among the Toba. As Reyburn explains in the preface, the study "...was undertaken specifically to provide the missionaries with an anthropological orientation to their problems,..." The most emphasized principle in the report is the necessity for understanding the Toba culture as an integrated whole. Consistent with this emphasis pains are taken throughout to indicate the relationship of each aspect of Toba life to other parts of the culture. This emphasis culminates in a chapter devoted specifically to cultural integration. It is largely in this sense that Reyburn refers to his study as an interpretive report.

Chapter I is a brief and helpful note on the historical background of the Toba, which the author rightly feels is important to an understanding of contemporary Toba culture. The second chapter has to do with the economics and agriculture of the people and shows very nicely the importance

of economic problems in missionary work. The chief topic of this chapter is the economic readjustment which the Toba have had to undergo since they were first forced to abandon their seminomadic hunting life, and which they are still undergoing at the present time. A complete individual economy for a Toba family is laid out, and a complete household inventory is included as well.

Mrs. Reyburn, who holds a degree in anthropology, and who assisted in the collection and analysis of the material, helped write the chapter on social organization (Chap. III). Mrs. Reyburn suggests that the knowledge and use of the proper Toba kinship terms "...will serve to create rapport between missionary and Toba." (p. 25) Accordingly, an outline of the kinship terminology is included. Another interesting problem in this chapter has to do with Toba socialization, which produces individuals oriented to group wishes and with a minimum of aggressive expression toward other members of the group.

Chapter IV. Political Control is an interesting analysis of the role of the Toba political leader, the cacique, in the adjustment of Toba communities to the alien pressures which have beset them. Chapter V deals with shamanism, sickness and death.

Toba Christianity is treated in Chapter VI as another aspect of the whole Toba culture. The religious situation here is much different from the syncretism of Roman Catholic and aboriginal elements found among the Sierra Quechua (among whom the Reyburn's made their first study of this kind) due to the interesting fact that the Tobas have so readily accepted Pentecostal Christianity.

Chapter VII, which is on cultural integration, summarizes the major features of Toba culture and shows more specifically how and to what degree they are integrated. An enlightening chart of the five aspects of Toba culture described in the report shows with which other parts of the culture each aspect was most closely integrated in the years 1500, 1935 and 1954.

The final chapter, Questions and Answers, probably is the most provocative part of the book. The questions are

prefaced by some remarks on the concept of Christian culture and the character of what is called "responsible Christianity." The questions asked relate to three areas, Toba Christianity, Toba culture, and missionary endeavor and have to do with such things as the role of the Bible in Toba Christianity, the awareness of sin in Toba Christianity, whether or not the Tobas can become successful cotton farmers, the relationship of the missionaries to Toba cultural change, whether or not the missionary should try to live like the Tobas, and what the Tobas desire in a missionary. The chapter is concluded with a particularly pertinent discussion of the meaning and application of the so-called Golden Rule.

This report is not ordinary fare for readers of missionary literature. This is the kind of material which does not find its way into missionary magazines, books and pamphlets. Yet it is the sort of thing some of us believe we need to know more about. There will be few, if any, who will be able to read through the entire book without finding something they will want to think over more carefully before accepting, for the point of view represented departs significantly at points from the current views of the nature and objectives of missionary endeavor. I think that there is no one who will not find this study stimulating and profitable. It will prompt missionary, missionary candidate and missions supporter alike to think through vital issues which may have escaped their attention before. While it is important that each specific local situation be understood and dealt with in terms of its own peculiarities and some of the specific recommendations made concerning Toba missions will not apply elsewhere, many of the issues discussed are basic and have application or implication for other missionary endeavors in both simple and complex cultural situations. Every Christian missionary should secure and read this report.

In addition to its value for missionaries themselves, I am convinced that this is the kind of material which needs to be gotten before the supporters of missions. This report deals with issues not mentioned in missionary

addresses and publications, partly, possibly, on the essumption that people don't want to hear it and shouldn't. My own feeling is that a realistic presentation of the problems of missions will provide a stronger challenge to people to go to the field and provide the missionary supporter with the equipment for more intelligent prayer and missionary support.

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GET YOUR COPY OF THE TOBA REPORT

We enthusiastically recommend that every reader of Practical Anthropology secure his own copy of William Reyburn's The Toba Indians of the Argentine Chaco. Even though the report on the Reyburns' pioneer study among the Quechua of Ecuador is available in this journal, it should be emphasized that you will be missing a great deal if you fail to get your copy of the Toba report. The latter study is more complete and deals with a number of basic issues not treated in the Quechua report. Read the review in this issue for information on what is covered.

NOTES AND NEWS

Welmers Accepts New Position

William E. Welmers is returning from Liberia to take a position as Associate Professor of Linguistics at the Kennedy School of Missions in Hartford, Connecticut. Dr. Welmers is assuming his new duties in September, 1955.

Winter Takes Anthropology Degree

David K. Winter was awarded a masters degree in anthropology from The University of California at Los Angeles in June 1955.

EDITORIAL REMARKS

After it was too late to withdraw it, it dawned on me that the editorial in the May-June issue of Practical Anthropology imparted a distorted picture of my views on the subject of the acceptance of anthropology in Christian schools. For now, suffice it to say that I am aware that the problem is far more complex than was indicated in the editorial and that it deserves far more careful handling than I gave it. Also, I feel that I should not have used the action of one of our top Christian schools as a springboard for my remarks. It was particularly inappropriate in view of the fact that I both understand and applaud the initiation of a pre-engineering program by this school. I'll be grateful if the reader will not take the editorial as representative of my best judgement and accept my apology for any unjust implications of my remarks. --R.B.T.

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